

SPEECH

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OF

HON. F. P. BLAIR, JR.,

OF MISSOURI,

AT THE

COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK CITY,

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## Speech of Mr. Blair.

From the N. Y. Herald of January 26, 1860.

The Cooper Institute was crowded last evening by the Republicans of New York, and other persons attracted thither by curiosity, to hear a lecture from the Hon. Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, on the attitude of parties. Among the gentlemen on the platform we noticed ex-Governor King, of New York, Cyrus W. Field, and a number of other gentlemen. Three cheers were given for Governor King, in a hearty and unanimous spirit.

The meeting was called to order by the President of the Young Men's Republican Union, who nominated as Chairman of the meeting Mr. Hiram Barney, who said :

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The association under whose auspices we assemble here this evening was organized in the summer of 1856, in the campaign of that year, under the name of the Young Men's Fremont and Dayton Union. [Applause.] You who are familiar, as I presume you all are, with the incidents of that campaign, know very well the important services which this band of young and gallant patriots rendered in the cause of Republicanism by their publications, by their distributions, by their orators. They occupied almost every field in this State, and some of the other States of the Union; and wherever they appeared, the effects were seen in the increased number of Republican votes at the ballot-box. Covered with glory by their labors and success, they have since been comparatively retired from public observation, but they now appear under the appropriate name of the Young Men's Central Republican Union of the city of New York. [Applause.] Under their former organization they numbered hundreds; under their present organization it is hoped and believed that it

will number thousands. [Applause—"Good."] They have inaugurated their labors by arranging for a series of lectures by distinguished Republicans from various parts of the Union, and they have made a most appropriate selection to begin the series this evening. [Applause.] I need not tell you who the speaker this evening is. He has been before the public and before the people of this country for years, though yet a young man; and his labors in the last Congress, in his own State of Missouri, in the Mississippi valley, from Minnesota to Ohio, have told upon the success of the Republican cause in that region. Prominent as he has been in the Halls of Congress, we are not surprised that he should be the mark for the bitterest opposition in his own district. In the last election he polled the majority of votes, but his antagonist got the certificate. When the Congress of the United States now in session shall have done justice to their country and their constituents, by a perfected organization, they will do justice to his constituents by giving him a seat in that body. [Applause.] I now introduce to you the Hon. Frank P. Blair, jun., of Missouri. [Vehement and long-continued applause and cheering.]

Mr. Blair then came forward, and said :

To be summoned by the distinguished young men of the Republican party to address our country through its all-pervading metropolis, on the important issues of an epoch which all believe will influence its destiny for ages, is a high and honorable distinction, of which I am profoundly sensible. I owe this prominence to Missouri, and to the attitude which she holds in the very heart of the Republic. Her introduction into the Union was signalized by a pacification which was hailed by patriots everywhere, but especially in the South, as quieting forever controversy about a disturbing domes-

tic institution, at war with the elements of freedom which imbued, at the beginning, our State and National Governments. That compact of peace to which she set her seal, as the party most interested, was broken, without having first taken the sense of her people to indicate her wishes on a question so peculiarly touching her honor as well as her interests. Now, the vital question recurs again, what is to be done to give repose to the discordant element among our institutions which has destroyed the compact on which it rested, carried civil war into the Territories, from which by agreement it was self-excluded, and now daringly threatens to crush the Union itself, unless permitted to command in the choice of a Chief Magistrate of the United States. [Faint applause.] However glozing politicians may sophisticate about the old doctrine of the power of Congress over the Territories, the new one which would give it to the first settlers, and take it from the representatives of the whole people in Congress, and that still newer one which would take it from both, and resign it to the Supreme Court of the United States, no man can honestly deny the blunt statement I have made of the all-controlling events which have produced the present hostile array of parties, nor the issue which the aggressive party throughout this contest now presents as its ultimatum. I am sensible that the border States holding slaves have the reins in their hands which will control the attempts of those Southern leaders who avow the design of making disunion the element of their power. I am indebted to the important position which Missouri holds, both as a border and a frontier State, and to the confidence entertained that she will add her strength to those members of the Confederacy that approve themselves most devoted to the Constitution and the Union, for the invitation to discuss here the principles and policy which discriminate the two great parties in this country. [Applause.] Missouri has ever been a Republican State—Republican in that sense in which Jefferson employed the term to define the party that elevated him to power. She owes her birth to Jefferson and the Republican party—that liberal party which acquired the Mississippi and the far West, and the shores of the Pacific, and devoted all to Union.

Do the Republicans of the present day maintain the same liberal principles which marked the career of Mr. Jefferson in all its aspects, or do modern Democrats more thoroughly adhere to what were then held as the essentials of Republicanism? This is a question which history must settle. I will not now invoke that umpire to pass upon the resemblance which existing parties bear to the Republican party of Jefferson's time, except as to the peculiar feature which has such power over those in love with it as to turn by its aspect everything for them into its own likeness. Is there anything in the eye of a devotee to the "peculiar institution,"

that concerns the Government of the country, that is not shaped, tinged, and controlled by it? The Constitution will not be allowed to exist without it; the Union must be broken down if it stand in the way of its extension; Congress must sacrifice the time-honored compact universally received by successive generations as imposing a just limit upon such extension. The President must give all his influence, and the force of all his civil functionaries, sustained by the military power, to coerce the reluctant mass of emigrants to admit slavery among them, and the Supreme Court must reverse all its precedents to establish the principle, that slavery, as an institution, is the property of slaveholders, which they may carry with them wherever they have the right to go themselves. [Hear hear.] Now, was this the Republican doctrine of the days of Washington and Jefferson? [No.] Was it the doctrine of both the first and last Congress of the Confederation, that undertook to exclude slavery by the ordinance "regulating" the Territories? Was it the doctrine of the Constitution, which used the very term, "regulate," employed by the Congress of the Confederation, in exerting the power, to confer it upon the Congress of the Union? Was it the doctrine of the next Congress, convoked by Washington, which confirmed, and with his signature, the ordinance of 1787? Was it the doctrine of any President, Cabinet, Congress, or Court of the United States, down to Pierce's time, all having contributed in either passing, signing, or recognising, in their appropriate spheres, the organization of every free Territory under the ordinance excluding slavery? The whole history of the Republic, from its foundation, shows that slavery was held to be a local institution, to be tolerated only in those States in which it had been thrust, and which were gradually to be relieved from the incubus as the growth of the white population rendered the substitution of free labor possible. History does not hand down the name of a single man who contributed to build up our republican Government, who declares himself for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery. [Loud cheers.] The embodied South marked its reprobation of the institution in consenting to the abolition of the African slave trade, and by branding it as piracy. [Repeated applause.] Washington declared the sentiment of all his enlightened countrymen when he wrote to Lafayette, and through him to Europe, that he looked forward to the time when our Union would become "a Confederacy of free States;" [applause;] and Jefferson, later and more emphatically, admonished the South that this must be so, or the fate of St. Domingo awaited it. [Faint applause.] Is it not amazing, when all Europe had been excited to admiration by the success of our free institutions, and to a more intense horror of slavery by its malign influence over the South, that the loveliest region of our continent, which wears this shirt of Nessus,

should be so maddened by its virus as not to perceive what wastes it? [Applause.] England long ago found that villainage was the blight of the island, and abolished it. She saw the serfdom in Ireland, under the agents of the absentee Lords, with a tenantry enslaved under martial law, had reduced that island to famine and ruin, and she emancipated the people by removing the disabilities of Catholics, breaking the fetters of entails and mortgages, and providing for the education and protection of free labor. She perceived that Jamaica and the West Indies were reduced to bankruptcy by the absentee and agency and slave system. The owners of estates there, and the colonial authorities, besieged Parliament with petitions for relief; they begged for protection from competition with the products of other sugar-raising regions, and Parliament, by prohibitory duties, gave them the monopoly of the English market. This would not suffice. British statesmen, after thorough examination, resolved upon the bold and wise plan of paying the planters for their negroes, and declared universal emancipation; the result is, that notwithstanding the fact that they were also deprived of the monopoly of the British market, all of the sugar islands have gradually become prosperous, save Jamaica, which its millstone mortgages have kept under, but which is also surely emerging from all its difficulties. England has extended the same liberal policy to the East Indies. She has, after putting down the late rebellion in Hindostan, taken measures to extirpate the cause. India was reduced to vassalage under the despotism of a trading oligarchy. England has stripped them of the dominion they abused, placed it under the Crown, and assured the rights of the people. [Cheers.] Throughout her conquests in every part of the world, England has of late years changed her policy. Her plan is now to conquer by her skill and power originating in her own freedom—and to retain her conquests by extending the blessings of free institutions over them. [Applause.] It is the British policy now, that the flag which extends it over the earth shall be everywhere hailed as the ensign of freedom. [Applause.] Our Revolution has not only brought republican reform into all the colonies, but into the three Kingdoms encircled by the British Crown. It is making progress, and popular suffrage is gradually extending, and public opinion will thus in time become paramount in Parliament.

France, too, has caught the Revolutions, and dethroning her old dynasty, and passing through the various republican forms, the first, and successive kings, has now a second empire, founded on universal suffrage, a legislative branch derived periodically from the same source, an admirable civil code, an army so associated in feeling with the families from which it is drawn as to catch the sympathies which pervade the empire. All the powers of the State being root-

ed in a brave, intelligent nation of freeholders in town and country, the great estates being cut into small homesteads, and all its children made to spring from the soil which they are interested to improve and defend, Louis Napoleon, at the head of half a million of disciplined soldiers, becomes instantly sensible of public opinion from its ground-swell among the people. [Applause.] Hence, the people of Italy can claim at his hands reform, and a voice in the establishment of free institutions. Hence, his *entente cordiale* with Great Britain and France in arresting the march of the autocrat Nicholas on Turkey, to subject the whole East to serfdom, and bring the enslaved nations, just breaking loose from the relaxed hand of the expiring Ottoman power, to the strong grasp of Northern despotism; and hence, too, the compulsion enforced by France and England on the Sultan, to extend enfranchisement to the subdued races, and toleration to the Christian religion—a mark of grace to Christendom which has been followed by an order for the suppression of the slave trade with Circassia. This triumph of the liberal principles of the Western nations over the policy of Peter the Great, handed down to his successor Nicholas, has brought the enlightened Emperor Alexander to inquire how the military strength of his whole empire was vanquished in the stronghold meant to defy the world. He saw the light, alert, well-instructed Frenchman an overmatch for the robust Russian, hardy, impassive, rugged, and tough as the Polar bear. Why was this mighty, well-disciplined animal strength overthrown by the gay alacrity of that parade, that a little time before had graced the holidays of Paris? The Russian soldier was a serf; he had no home but the camp, no country to crown him with glory for his exploits. The Emperor of Russia has resolved to prepare his Northern hordes for conquest in the softer regions of the South and East, by making them freemen, and inspiring their faculties with the enthusiasm which can only rise in a man who feels that he has a soul and body, and a home of his own on earth. [Tremendous applause.] He, too, it is said, has joined his banner to that of Prussia and England, and demands the right for the Italian people of establishing a Government for themselves. The Holy Allies that parcelled out the people of Europe like herds, as belonging to them by divine right, all, save Russia, now admit that there is an original sovereignty in the people, which they are bound to respect. Austria herself intimates that she is disposed to reform, and yield something to the spirit of the age.

Have we an Austria, less accessible than that of the Danube to the light spread over the world by our Revolution? Reform of a great abuse, at war with our political system, imposed on us by a foreign Power, degrading to our national character, and wasting to sterility the very soil of our country, is not only spurned

in the slave States, but that which makes such a blot on our continent, sets such a mark on our front as a people, threatens such fatal results to the Union that binds us together in power, is now exalted, it seems, for these very tendencies, above the Constitution itself. Those venerable patriots who cherished freedom in the infancy of the colonies, and after they had risen to States, and still later, when they confederated as a nation, recorded against England as her greatest crime, that "she made cruel war 'against human nature itself, in seizing men 'for slaves, carrying them into another hemisphere, and keeping open a market where 'they should be sold.'" Yet the name of the very man whose pen fixed this accusation, to stand forever in the history of the country, against its royal oppressor, is now called up to sanctify the principles of a party urgent to re-open the slave trade, to spread slavery over all the new Territories, and to subvert the Government, if it elects a Chief Magistrate hostile to their designs. [Faint applause.] Austria in Europe is taught to surrender something to promote the growth of liberty there. Here we have an Austria that would strangle it with slavery, returning to that old King's policy who introduced it, notwithstanding the protest of the colonies pronouncing it "an execrable com-mere." [Applause.]

To what is this retrograde impulse in a portion of our people to be attributed? Not, I venture to affirm, to the unbiassed feeling or judgment of the slaveholders. I have been familiar with this class all my life. Born and reared among the farmers of Kentucky—deriving all my early notions of domestic relations from a race exclusively Virginian, while my public life has been devoted to Missouri, and that of my father, [vociferous applause] (with whom I feel that I have always lived, although apart from him,) spent between the two great slave States of the Potomac, I cannot be ignorant of the character and views of the most prominent and important class of the commanding slave States. The decadence of these great States is not to be ascribed to the character of their principal citizens, but to the fault of the institution with which they have labored.

The world's history does not show a better race of men than the farmers of the States to which I have alluded. They are of the best stock of that middle class that built up the glory of the country whence they came. They inherit the sterling common sense, the benevolent feeling, the firm temper, the lofty spirit, that led the way to the civilization of this continent. [Cheers.] They have never, and do not now, look upon slavery as a good to be sought by rapine, and dragged by cruelty to our shores, but as an evil thrust upon us, producing the difference in the prosperity of the North and South, visible to every eye. They are not the disturbers of the peace of the Union. They do not wish to abandon the fertile regions

of the South which now lie open to slave labor, the greater portion yet untouched, to force it on Territories which should be reserved for the free white race among them, deprived of occupations and the means of maintaining a foothold in their native soil, from which slavery, if it continues, must ultimately remove them. They do not favor fresh importations—a policy that must hasten the exile of the free white race, reduce the value of slave and landed property, render it more difficult to dispose of or to retain advantageously. Least of all do they desire to dissolve the Union, either to extend slavery, or, as an experiment, to make more safe the institution where it now exists in peace. [Applause.]

The non-slaveholders are of the same strain—vigorous in mind and body, brave, law-abiding, patriotic, more disposed to suffer whilst evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed; they will continue to endure the oppression that the presence of slavery obliges them to encounter while bare subsistence is attainable; while "hunting, fishing, and occasional jobs," or little tenements held at will on wasted fields or the wilderness among the hills, supply food, they may submit like stoics in despair. But when they are driven generally to the other alternative, which Mr. Hammond, the most distinguished Senator of the South, pointed to as the last but not unusual resource in South Carolina, that of "seducing the slaves to steal for their support," I think there will be danger of convulsion. A class already driven to the extremities, by slavery, which have been so forcibly depicted by Southern men of the highest distinction, and which have recently in Louisiana led to the appointment of vigilance committees and lynch law to drive them from neighborhoods to which they had become offensive, would hardly bear the influx of new hordes of negroes from Africa. This would make the price of labor so low that the utmost industry of the free white laborer would not yield bread to a family. It would compel them all to take refuge in the peonage system of Mexico, where the whole laboring population receive food and raiment from the landholder, and as debtors bind themselves and families to his estate, to work out a constantly-accumulating debt, making the bondage hereditary, or drive them at once from their native land to the Territories for new homes, where it is proposed to follow up the King's colonial system for the South, and pour in successive cargoes of Africans to swarm in the Territories—to create new slave States, and subject the poor white laborers there again to the alternatives already described by their own members in Congress. [Slight applause.] The non-slaveholders of the South, constituting nine-tenths of the population, excluding slaves, cannot, when they understand it, consent to the policy of propagating slavery with such fatal results

to themselves; much less would they, knowing it, contribute to the severance of the Union to effect this object, by lending themselves to the attempt to drive a Republican President from a station, the influence of which he will exert to give them and their children homesteads in the rich regions of the West, thus securing them forever from the encroachments of slavery.

How does it happen, when the interests of the two great classes of the South are opposed to the renewal of the slave trade, and the filling up with exotic barbarians our fair free Territories, reclaimed from native savages with better rights, and whose presence was never attended with such fatal omens, that the country should be alarmed with such threatening clamor from that quarter to compass their schemes? The politicians of the South are a disciplined corps, schooled in the art of managing a small embodied force, so as to subjugate vast multitudes. The attempt of our time has the slave interest of the South for its pivot. Alarms are affected that dangerous designs are meditated against it in the North. The slaveholders are combined to a man, under the leaders who undertake the championship of their cause. They are well aware, however, that the monomaniacs who made the late foray at Harper's Ferry, and those who approved it, consist of a mere handful. Proof that the slaveholders themselves, while this abolition concoction has been bubbling up in its effervescence constantly, have never felt an apprehension, is found in the fact that slave property has always been rising in value in the face of the false alarms. The mine and all its underground preparations, the work of years of eloquent and stealthy effort on the part of the very few who favor such schemes, at last laid open by an explosion. Old Brown, the consul of this embryo republic, is sent to die in a condition never to return—[hisses and applause]—the rest of the grand army have fled. Berezina in the Potomac, and now, after the bisequies, soldiers are springing up from Dragon's teeth along the Southern borders, and consternation is on every countenance, looking out for the ghosts of enemies. Does any man believe that this terror in the hitherto untrifled Commonwealth is real? It is nothing but a piece of fine acting—Kean, in the part of Richard, on the field of Bosworth. [Laughter and applause.] The dramatic efforts work wonders on the ignorant; and while the declaimers continue to appal the ear with the outcry that the Black Republican party of the North are all in the plot, that they will elect a President to stir up the negroes to insurrection, and that they propose to wrap the South in the flames of servile and civil war, the value of all the property of this doomed region continues to rise in value, [laughter,] and the slaveholder knows and feels that his falsely-accused party adversaries at the North, with its President in power, would move down, if necessary, the whole race of its millions of freemen, to put down insurrec-

tion at home or invasion from abroad. [Applause.] There needs no better testimony to this fact than the trumpet-mouthing proclamation of Southern men in Congress, that the commanding party in the free States approve and lend their aid to such schemes as John Brown's. Suppose Republican Representatives should go through the slave States, and announce to the oppressed of all colors the purpose of the North to abet Brown's project of universal emancipation, would they not be treated as incendiaries? Why, then, are the Southern Representatives permitted by their slaveholding constituents to make assertions that tend to persuade every malcontent in the South that they have a body of friends in the North ready to lead them to victory whenever they rise to throw off their bonds? Simply because the whole South knows that its Representatives, having the least apprehension that such a formidable ally was ready to support insurrections against Southern institutions, would be the last men on earth even to whisper it in the ears of the malecontents. [Laughter and applause.] The negroes, even, are too intelligent to give credit to the absurd story. [Laughter.] There is not a sane man in the South that does not know full well that, though badgered and abused, such is the loyalty of the whole North to the Union that it would march with an army of its hardy sons, a thousand-fold stronger than that General Greene led to the rescue of the South, in the day of its troubles. [Loud applause.]

It is the part of political cunning to supply the want of inviting principles, to recruit and keep together the partisans of a weak cause, to invent expedients, operating on the ignorance and fears of some, appealing to the prejudices and bad passions of others, and reaching the cupidity of all who would profit by any intrigue putting the honors and emoluments of the National Government at their disposal. The John Brown conspiracy is now the galvanic battery that gives new life to the Democracy. In the North, it revives the expiring hopes of the melancholy doughfaces. [Loud laughter and great applause.] These poor men turn their staring eyes with a gleam of expectancy on the spoils, for which they have long labored for rewards as Union-savers, where there are no abettors of disunionists but themselves. [Laughter.] In the South, it "fights the land from its property," and it is in arms for self-destruction—threatening to destroy that bond of strength which is its safety. But is this in earnest? There are two parties at the South—one for the Union, and one against it; the former heartily concurring in the patriotic views of the fathers of the Republic, that slavery should work out its destiny by degrees, under the shield of the Constitution, the negro race receiving southward before the skill, economy, and self-impressing power, of free labor.

The destiny of the colored people of this continent is to carry freedom and improvement to

its rich tropics, where the white race languishes through successive generations, passing into mongrels and utter decay. The men of the South, who take Washington, Jefferson, and their contemporaries, as their guides, look to this policy and this result to restore the prosperity of the South and its relative weight in the Union. In heart they abhor the thought of its destruction. They countenance the frenzy of the nullifiers, the zealots for disunion, only to appease it, and because they are unable to resist until their real designs are disclosed.

The nullifiers are willing to tolerate the Union while they can direct its wealth and power to subjugate new regions to slavery, so that in abandoning the Confederacy they may have space for an empire, and cut loose from the free system where the producing class is the governing class, and as such sets an example that may become contagious among the mass of the white population, where it is subordinated by the influence of the peculiar institution. That institution they cherish as the foundation of an oligarchy, and it is more potent for that purpose than the feudal system, conferring a monopoly of the lands upon the slaveholders, and rendering them independent of the caste of freemen, who own neither lands nor slaves.

The chiefs who brood over the scheme of a new Government in the South, adverse to the Union, have in view to provide against a danger very different from that which they parade as the cause of the alarm. There is a difficulty arising from the increase of their white population holding no slaves, and destitute of lands or employment, that excites apprehension in another form. This multitude, thus oppressed by the competition of slavery, have votes, and may at some time learn to use them for their own deliverance. [Applause.] The chiefs of nullification, taught by a master quite as acute as he who educated Alexander in the art of dominion over men, seek to throw off connection with that part of the Confederacy where free voting makes everything free. In selecting his pupils, the late ambitious instructor in the school of South Carolina politics always looked to daring and capable young men. The chivalry, as these disciples of Mr. Calhoun are sometimes called in derision, in many instances exhibit elevated qualities, that make the term appropriate to them in its true and honorable sense. They are the earnest Prince Ruperts of King Charles's reign, ready to fight in the cause of *jure divino* right of slavery.

It is evident, from the late demonstrations, that employment for the non-slaveholding class in the South will be found, in case the severance of the Union is attempted, by embodying from it a standing army, to prevent the execution of the laws of the Union, the escape of slaves along the borders and coasts, and to prosecute further conquests in the South for the extension of slavery. That the latter design is meditated, is manifest from the fact that

Walker re-established slavery in the country in which he obtained a momentary foothold, and did so under the advice of those in the United States who were associated in his enterprise. Walker declared that he was advised by a member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet to throw himself into the quarrel of castes, then and now raging in Mexico, instead of embarking in his foray upon Nicaragua. A Senator of the United States, high in favor with the Administration, denounced the attempt after its failure, declaring that the Government of the United States should intervene in the affairs of Mexico, and disown such forays by its citizens. It seems that this advice has prevailed with that portion of the Southern politicians who once looked with favor upon Walker's scheme, and, uniting their counsels, they have compelled Mr. Buchanan to embrace this new plan of conquest for the extension of slavery. A treaty has been negotiated with Juarez, a pure-blooded Indian, and who, in the war of castes now existing in that unhappy country, is recognised as President by the chiefs commanding in the outlying States or Departments where the Indian races predominate in Mexico. His authority is disowned in the capital; and the central States, where the white race has some remains of strength, and where the church, which has so long shielded them from the overwhelming numbers of the Indian and colored races, still guards and defends them with her power and influence. Mr. Buchanan has leagued himself with the Indian Juarez in this war of religion and caste—leagued himself with the chief who has by edict already confiscated the property of the Catholic church, and will exterminate its defenders of the white race, in order to possess himself of its spoils.

The treaty which has been negotiated by our President proposes to furnish four millions of money to Juarez to prosecute this war against the Catholic church and the white men of Mexico. The President also asks that Congress shall surrender to him the war-making power, in order that he may support Juarez with the arms of the United States, and with troops levied among the filibusters, who are looking with longing eyes to the plunder of Mexico, and its ultimate possession. The Dred Scott decision, having already overthrown our free institutions, would carry slavery into this new conquest, and the system of peonage, the hereditary servitude of debt, would still more readily become assimilated to the peculiar institution. Inexorable, indeed, is the demand for the extension of slavery, when it compels Mr. Buchanan to league himself with an Indian in a war of caste and religion—a war against the proprietary class of Mexico—and to confiscate the estates of that church whose members, in this country, elevated him to the Presidency. [Applause.]

The pretext upon which he asks Congress to invest him with power to wage such a war is, that our citizens have been outraged in their

persons and property by the church party in Mexico. Northern citizens are in far more danger in the Southern States, [laughter,] and have suffered infinitely more there and in Kansas, at the hands of the President's pro-slavery partisans, than they have done in Mexico, [tremendous applause,] and in Utah our troops stand idle, whilst Brigham Young despoils and murders our citizens. [Applause.] Who can doubt that he owes his immunity from punishment to the fact that he has established slavery? [Applause.] In the eyes of those who command our President, this is sufficient to entitle him to immunity in his crimes, and in the enjoyment of the "twin relic of barbarism," polygamy. [Cheers.] The motive which is to precipitate us into a religious war with Mexico, and which has sheathed the sword of justice in Utah, is the same; it is, the extension of slavery; and when this object can no longer be subserved by the power of this Government, then the Government itself is to be subverted.

Of the existence of a settled design against the Union, no man can doubt, who observes the signs of the times and listens to the debates in Congress. The party in power, who denounce the Union, do not pretend that their opponents have violated the Constitution. The Republicans, it is true, denounce the extension of slavery, but they show their warrant for this in the acts of the fathers of the Republic. [Applause.] A declaration of opinion on this subject, on the part of those out of power, may surely be tolerated by those who wield the whole machinery of Government to repeal compacts, and annul ordinances coeval with the Constitution—who command the army and civil power of the nation to exclude by terror or to expel freemen invited by law to the settlement of a Territory, and, failing in that, by force and violence, and even Presidential corruption brought to bear on Congress, to impose a slave Constitution on a resisting people—[cheers]—and who, in default of success in this attempt, can bring the judicial power to make a slave Constitution for a people by a construction of the Constitution of the United States. [Faint applause.] Surely a party in the minority, and yet so omnipotent over the whole Government, might permit the majority to express an adverse sentiment, drawing its sanction from the whole course of policy which has characterized our national existence. No; expression of opinion is a right to be tolerated no longer.

It is assumed that the Republican sentiment in favor of States, without the tarnish of negro slavery discoloring their institutions or their people, made John Brown mad; and although he and all his followers have paid the penalty of their fatuity and crimes, yet this has not proved that the State and National Governments are sufficient to protect against the dangers incident to the peculiar institution. What then? The majority of the people of the United States

are warned, that if, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, they presume to elect a Republican President, the minority will annul the Constitution; so it is not, at last, for a violation of that instrument that the Union is to be subverted, but for maintaining it in fair, free, and full operation, according to the interpretation of its worst enemies. Will this outrage on principle, honor, and the obligation of oaths, add anything to the strength of an institution for which so much is sacrificed? Would the juxtaposition of the free States, wronged, insulted, and defied, and put into a state of war by such of the slave States as revolt against the Government, which all are bound to support, promote the safety of that institution, brought into contact with them, and declared to be the cause of the mischief? Martial law would doubtless be proclaimed, as recently at Charlestown, to protect it; and, as the letter of Governor Wise admonished Governor Chase, the whole military might of the South would be sent into the free States, to drag to punishment all persons suspected of tampering with slaves or aiding their elopement. There would be dashing Prince Ruperts leading gallant cavaliers, and beating up the quarters of the free-State farmers from the headwaters of the Kansas to the mouth of the Potomac; but they would find there "some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood," and regiments of Ironsides, until then employing their hardihood in wielding the axe, or cutting the furrow with the share. [Great applause.] Along the shores of the Atlantic and the Gulf, guards would be obliged to hold their stations, for every keel that approached, except the pirate's, would be justly looked on as hostile to the slave trade, ["Hi, hi, hi," and great excitement.] the extension of slavery, and the continuance of the originating cause of quarrel. Mexico and Central America and the West Indies would invoke the protection of Great Britain and France against the filibusters, let loose by the war for slavery propaganda.

History does not furnish the instance of a dissolution of such a grand fabric of Government as ours without a war, or by a little war. If the South draws the sword to spread slavery over lands now free, she begins a war to conquer for principles to which the civilized world beyond its limits is opposed. [Tremendous applause.] A blow struck at our Government in such a cause will be followed up by armaments on all sides; and, indeed, we see something like preparation for it on one side stalking before our eyes already. If slavery thus parades its train bands in the face of freemen, to deter them from the assertion of their rights, and resolves to make war upon them to prevent their administration of the Government under the Constitution, it will be responsible for a contest which, if swayed by the opinions of this enlightened age, will probably be the last it will wage. [Loud cheers.] But there will be no war.

["That's so," and laughter.] The slaveholders themselves, however willing to indulge the ambition of their champions in playing as dictators to the Federal Government, by means of a combined South, cemented by the capital involved in their institution, are not inclined to stake it all on a war against free institutions—[laughter]—nor to tax it with the charge of standing armies to preserve it against the power of the Confederacy which now renders it safe under the shield of that Constitution they are called on to destroy. [Applause.] Besides, their own importance, now paramount in the South, would be swallowed up by their own military commanders, brought on the scene by such a contest, and their case would soon verify the fable of King Log and King Stork. [Laughter.] Bolivar's career, signalized by a triumph over the Spanish power and that of the slaveholders in his war for freedom, is an example that will not be forgotten by the men of capital in the South. Mr. Randolph, in a speech warning Virginia of the peculiar danger of a civil war, pointed to Bolivar's success. It is clear, that with the issue made by the disunionists to effect a separation, both sections would have to maintain formidable armaments in war and peace, like France and England, and that there would be no disarmament but by reunion and the removal of the cause of the strife. [Applause.]

The owners of the wealth of South Carolina saw this in the panic Mr. Calhoun contrived, to lead to separation on the pretence of the tariff. His almost unbounded and absolute influence over his State was then aided by the vehement eloquence of McDuffie, the charm of Preston's oratory, and the busy ardor of General Hamilton, constantly on parade at home, and appealing to the love of military glory among the Southern leaders. The grand army was brought to a rendezvous under these impulses; the blast of General Jackson's proclamation scattered the military plumage and flags as when a storm bursts upon a militia muster. [Loud applause and laughter.] The present panic, like that gotten up by the bank, in which Calhoun and McDuffie again played high parts, is meant to carry a Presidential election. ["Won't do—never."] The scenes now enacted in Congress, in the State Legislatures South, and Union meetings North—["good, good"]—are dramatic performances—[laughter]—for the benefit of the doughfaced spoils-men, whose love and terror for the Union keeps even pace with the disaffection and fury of their allies against it. [Cries of "Good," and laughter.] There is more vociferation and less sense and poorer actors to sustain the present panic. The slaveholders know nothing so well as that their property is safe only under the shield of the Constitution. The slave-extension politicians can do nothing in that way, in or out of the Union, by force. The little experiment made in Kansas, with preparation all in advance in

Missouri, to carry everything by surprise, seconded by the South and all that the truckling Federal Government could do to assist, has brought disgrace on the leaders engaged in it and their cause. [Applause.] The latter-day Democracy, [loud laughter,] whose character is sketched in the events I have reviewed, will close its history with the catastrophe of the slave panic. [Renewed merriment.]

The Republican party will restore that noble Commonwealth which had its germ in the Declaration of Independence, [cries of "bravo,"] rose as a Confederacy in the midst of the Revolution, and became a nation under the Constitution. [Applause.] In all its written instruments shaping the National Government, slavery was abjured. The principle was denounced in the first, the imperishable Declaration. Under the second, the ordinance, slavery was excluded from the national territory, and the Constitution, while recognising partially its *de facto* existence in some States, so far as the nation was concerned, could allow it only to operate as making the condition of "persons held to service," not property held absolutely. [Applause.] Persons under all law, divine and human, have rights; a man who holds the right to the service of another has no right to destroy him; he may destroy his property. The Constitution, by rejecting the term slave, which implies absolute power as of property in the master, and substituting a phrase implying a different and a qualified relation, meant to exclude the idea that slavery was a national institution, and bondage in any form was excluded from the national domain by affirming the ordinance in the First Congress under the authority of the Constitution. Under this view of the supreme and fundamental laws of the Republic, the Republican party deny the right in any or all the departments of Government to extend slavery over the nation's territory. ["Good, good."] This is the foundation on which the fathers of the Republic stood, and on which the Republican party now stands. [Cries of "Good, good," and applause.]

If the troubles of this country are to have a peaceful conclusion, it must come with the close of the reign of the aggressive party, laboring to destroy the principles of the Revolution; breaking through the boundaries assigned to slavery; renewing, in defiance of law and the opinion of the world, the accursed slave trade, branded as piracy under the Constitution, the laws and treaties of the Government; and provoking war to conquer neighboring free States, to subject them to the slave system. [Applause.] The first step towards deliverance is the defeat of the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, whoever may be anointed at Charleston as the high priest of nullification. [Exciting applause, lasting for several seconds.] If the cowering spirits and the corrupted parasites of Executive patronage in the free States pander to the designs of the nullifiers,

by resigning again to their threats the Government of the Union, they give its power to be used for its destruction. [Applause.] A wise, firm, moderate, true-hearted man, a Republican of the self-devoting courage of Andrew Jackson, incorruptible and uncorrupting, would, as the chief of the Government, bring back the better days of the Republic. [Loud applause.] He would give security to the disturbed section of the country, acquire the confidence of all, and restore that good feeling among the people sighed for by all good men. He would, at the threshold, take measures to make every slaveholder safe in his rights under the Constitution—[applause]—secure as possible from the abduction of his slaves, and in their restoration if carried away—secure in the most earnest vigilance to prevent insurrection, or to suppress it, if made. [Applause.] He would exert his influence to open a way for the removal, with the assent of all interested, of the freedmen of the African race, which, whether in the North or South, are made the instruments of mischief, especially among the whole laboring class of the South, and of offence to the free labor of the North. He would negotiate for territory in the American tropics, where it is essential that our Republic should have a position, and strive to make the acquisition valuable to our commerce, and conducive to the security of a route across the Isthmus to our Pacific States, and through means of the freedmen of the African race born among us, adapted by peculiar constitution for sustaining the climate, endeavor to establish there a Power under our flag—a Power which would be able to assert our just share of influence among the European establishments already planted there. He would endeavor to lay open portions of the most fruitful provinces, and those rich in minerals, to such of our slaveholders as might deem it their own or the interests of their States to remove their laborers, upon composition with them, to a new and more congenial clime, where their labors, assisted by the money and skill of the owner, would yield ten-fold profits, and enable them in a few years to repay all outlay and the price of manumission, and leave them free and in the possession of the freehold. [Applause.] Such a process of probation, leading to liberation, would give a new existence to the slave, making him at once a free man and a freeholder; the master would receive a double benefit in the lucrative results derived from the staples of the tropics, and in the increased value of his land at home, when free labor was substituted.

What a change would come over old Virginia! her slaves gradually receding to create tropical wealth, her own hardy and intelligent sons seizing the plough and the axe; free immigration and capital pouring in, from the North and from abroad, to fill with self-gratifying labor the void left by begrudging, extorted toil. The great old Commonwealth would

soon be brought to answer in triumph the question urged in vain on the declining Commonwealth of Rome by her most illustrious Tribune, who besought her to deliver from the oppression of slavery her own noble race of citizens, demanding, as the historian tells us, “of the rich, whether they preferred a slave to a citizen, a man unqualified to serve in war to a soldier, an alien to a member of the Republic, and which they thought would be more zealous for its interests?” Then, as to the miseries of the poor, he said: “The wild beasts of Italy have caves and dens to shelter them, but the people who expose their lives for the defence of Italy are allowed nothing but the light and air. They wander up and down with their wives and children, without house and without habitation. Our generals mock the soldiers when in battle, they exhort them to fight for their sepulchres and their household gods; for amongst all that great number of Romans, there is not one who has either a domestic altar or a sepulchre for his ancestors. They fight and die solely to maintain the riches and luxury of others, and are styled the lords of the universe, while they have not a single foot of ground in their possession.” Sallust, whose bright page has given Catiline’s conspiracy in more living colors than Cicero in his orations, in an elaborate letter to Julius Caesar, when master of the fate of Rome, beseeching him to restore the Commonwealth, thus pointed to the policy of the oligarchy which had brought on the ruin: “Men of the lowest rank, whether occupying their farms at home or serving in the wars, were amply satisfied themselves, and gave ample satisfaction to their country, so long as they possessed what was sufficient to subsist them. But when, being thrust out of the possession of their lands by a gradual usurpation, they, through indigence and idleness, (having nothing to do,) could no longer have any fixed abodes, then they began to covet the wealth of other men, and to put their own liberty and the Commonwealth to sale.”

The main principle of the Republican policy is that of giving free labor a root in the soil—[applause]—especially (to use the language of the historian who had deeply studied the causes of the fall of his country’s freedom) to prevent “men of the lowest rank” from being “thrust out” of the possession of their lands by a gradual usurpation. It is the creed of the Republican party, that a part of the public lands belong to those poor men—[loud cheers]—and it is their policy to establish them in homesteads of which they cannot be deprived. [Applause.] Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland, will soon provide homes for their own citizens whom they may wish to retain in their bosoms, by removing the slaves who deprive them of employment. [Applause.] Days more glorious than those their earlier promise portended would rise upon the

Old Dominion and her offspring of richly-endowed States. "The mother of dead empires" would revive, and her progeny with her. Virginia's pinnacles would disappear, and fields of wheat wave in their stead. The wan wastes of sedge, where now the whip-poor-will's melancholy cry saddens the deserted scene, would be resuscitated, and bloom with nodding clover, and deep-turfed grass would carpet the lawns. The Blue Ridge and its valleys would pour down to the sea streams freighted with harvests, and the mountains beyond would send down their tributes in herds and flocks, minerals and lumber. The Chesapeake bay would live in the prospect like the dazzling Adriatic, when bright with the glories of Venice in the renowned days of the Republic. Norfolk would flutter its gay pennons like an emporium. Richmond, Alexandria, and a hundred other towns, would thunder with machinery. That sad, sable mourning train, that looks now as if sent to do the obsequies and sing the funeral dirge over an exhausted, sinking country, would, in some sunny region on the Gulf, rejoice in the energies of a well-directed freedom—[loud cheering]—and with the characteristic gratitude of the race, remembering the land of their birth and the new boon of liberty conferred, they would fill the ports of Virginia and the South with the trophies of an industry stimulated by gain and gladness amidst a luxuriance which the earth nowhere else displays. [Cheers.]

I am aware that those in the interest of slavery, rather than that of their country, assert that the experiment of free labor in the West Indies, under the auspices of the British Government, has proved a failure. Mr. Benjamin, that adroit attorney of the politicians who speculate on the influence of slavery to carry off the spoils of Government for them, at the last session of Congress made a lamentable picture of the British West Indies, to convince the American public that emancipation has ruined those fair isles. At the very time he was making his speech in the United States Senate to make good this point, a debate in Parliament brought out the result of the Government's inquiries into the state of those colonies, that disproved every word that Mr. Benjamin uttered. [Loud applause.] Mr. Buxton, the son of the distinguished abolitionist, had moved the inquiry. In his speech on the investigation of the facts and statistics, he showed that the circumstances which led to the crash which fell upon the West Indies—the absenteeism of the great proprietors, the faithlessness of agents, the heavy mortgages which had eaten up the profits of ill-managed negro slaves—had made the island bankrupt, producing appeals to Parliament for salvation before emancipation took place, and a great fall in the price of sugar soon after rendered a catastrophe unavoidable. He then summed up the actual condition of the islands, and, after comparing the state of things when monopoly and slavery

were in their zenith, with the free-labor system, he asks, "And what, now, was the result? The result was, that although labor was still free, although trade was still free, or, rather, he would say, because labor, because trade was free, the West Indies were now rising to a pitch of wealth and happiness unknown before. It would be impossible for him to lay before the House the immense mass of evidence which demonstrated that fact. He was assured of it by mercantile men; he found it strongly set forth in the reports of the Governors of the islands, which used to be full of dismay, and were now bright with cheerfulness and hope; but the keystone of the arch consisted of the statistics furnished by the Board of Trade, which showed that the imports and exports, together, of the West Indies and Guiana, had amounted, in the four years ending with 1853, to £32,500,000, and in the four years ending with 1857 to £37,000,000—an increase of £4,500,000 in four years, [applause]—and, further, that the annual exports of sugar, coffee, cotton, rum, and cocoa, had greatly increased of late years."

Concluding a long list of similar statistics, he adds: "Considering what mere specks the West Indies look on the map of America, it was astonishing that their trade to and from should now actually amount annually to £10,735,000; that was the value of their commodities in the year 1857."

Sir E. B. Lytton, the Colonial Secretary, during the last session, rose and confirmed the views taken by Mr. Buxton, and enlarged more fully on the causes of the disorders of the West Indies, and the success of free labor as the cure. But he added an additional fact, which shows up another imposture used here to prevent the sending of free emigrants into the tropics. He thus addressed himself to Mr. Buxton:

"The honorable gentleman says the prosperity of the colonies does not arise from immigration alone. No, but where immigration has been continued, prosperity has followed. Sir, the experiment of coolie immigration was first tried in Mauritius in 1835-'37. It was then commenced by the planters as private importers of labor. Abuses arose—the immigration was suspended in 1838. In 1843, the Government took it into their hands, and by the Government it has since been conducted. Now hear the result. Since the experiment, there have been introduced into this colony 170,000; out of these, in 1856, as many as 134,291 were still residents. The effect on the produce of the colony was—the sugar crop in 1844 was 70,000,000 pounds; in 1855 it amounted to 288,480,000 pounds. That has been the effect on produce. What has been the effect on the immigrant population? Three-fourths of those immigrants who returned to India at the end of three or five years brought back with them from 500 to 1,200 rupees each, and Sir G. Anderson, who

'had formerly been a distinguished judge in India, in 1850 reported his opinion in these words: 'The immigrants, as a laboring population, are perhaps nowhere in the world in such favorable circumstances.'

Sir E. B. Lytton then shows by the statistics that this state of things exists in all the West Indies, and he adds that "in a single ship which left British Guiana last year, (1858,) 227 coolies paid into the hands of the authorities for transmission to India more than £6,000;" and he describes many as going home with an independence.

Mr. Labouchere, the Whig Colonial Secretary, who preceded Sir E. B. Lytton, rose "to express an almost complete coincidence with the right honorable gentleman who had expressed such full confidence in the success of free labor and the immigration of free laborers." He added: "The general state of the West Indies at this moment—the very moment that Mr. Benjamin pronounced them ruined—is extremely gratifying." [Laughter.] The testimony of these three eminent British statesmen must silence and confute the misrepresentations of those who seek to propagate and perpetuate slavery. [Loud applause.]

The active policy of the Republicans in regard to slavery consists entirely of laws to enlarge the powers of slaveholders and slave States to enfranchise and rid themselves of the human beings whose fate is in their hands. [Applause.] Now, the master may wish to relieve himself and his State of the incubus of such dependants. He has not the power; the State laws forbid it, unless he provides a home elsewhere; there is no attainable spot on which he can place them. It is the wish of the slave States to remove the freed negroes; the same difficulty renders it impossible, unless they are made slaves again, or driven out wrongfully upon repugnant neighbors, or to perish. The Republicans propose to bring the means of the Union to deliver owners of slaves from this embarrassment, and to give them and their States the option of slavery or no slavery, individually and collectively. There are great numbers of free white citizens oppressed and deprived of employment and the means of support for their families by the existence of slavery. The Republicans propose to give homes in the national domain to these suffering persons and their families. [Cheers.] The Republicans propose to open new avenues of commerce, especially advantageous to the Southern States, by making colonies of the class obnoxious to them, as well as to the Northern States, by their presence, but, by their removal to the tropics, converting them to usefulness to their native States and the nation. [Applause.]

On all the points on which the Republicans and the National Democracy differ, the Government, betraying its constituents, has given its fiat for the latter—the Missouri compact repealed, the power of Congress over Territories denied, and the entree given to slavery every-

where by the Supreme Court. Republicans look upon all this as an utter subversion of the fundamental law, but no resistance is made to the official authority. The obstacle to these usurpations is in the nature of things. Slavery cannot compete with free labor in progress on this continent. [Applause.] It is not the creed of the Republicans merely, but the nature of man, under the will of Providence, that arrests the ruin of this continent, and it is in defiance of Providence that the Union is to be broken up and the continent is to be sundered; its great rivers stopped half way in their courses, and the Gulf stream to be turned round somewhere about Cape Hatteras. [Laughter.] Up to this time, it must be admitted that the Republican party has done nothing to justify the South in resorting to such a desperate remedy. They have never held the power in a single department of the Government, and cannot be made responsible for one of its acts. On the contrary, all in a body admit that the crime is to come which is to bring down this terrible visitation upon the country. It is the election of a Republican President by a majority of the nation's suffrages, in conformity with the Constitution. [Slight applause.]

There is a great body of people in the South who think that the Democratic party has been unfortunate in its policy and in its selection of Presidents of late years, and who deem it a very extreme measure on the part of the minority to destroy the Constitution itself because it has provided that a majority of the people may exert the power of choosing another man and other measures, if they think the public good requires it. Taking this view, an Opposition party has sprung up in the South, resolved to oppose to the bitter end the indicated scheme of Southern ultra politicians. This Opposition party has issued its *exposé*, after consulting together in conventions held in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maryland, under the auspices of one of Kentucky's first-born sons, her oldest and ablest statesman and orator, who has added honor to the highest dignities of his native State and of the nation, save one, which, if estimated by the worth of its late incumbents, is far beneath him. [Applause.] The address to which I refer, in its opening, states that Mr. Clay, in the last speech he ever made, and which he was invited to deliver to the Kentucky Legislature, left as a legacy to his friends the formation of a Union party, in which all the parties differing on Union questions, but loving the Union, should merge their differences to support the Constitution in the very point on which the disunionists now propose to assail it—the election of a Chief Magistrate in opposition to their schemes.

I will here let the paper speak for me; the author has shown that there existed a conspiracy among the chiefs of the Southern Democracy to prevent the inauguration of a President, if one had been chosen at the last election in opposition to them. He adds: "One of their

chiefs, Governor Wise, in publicly developing the scheme and the means of carrying it out, spoke of a national civil war as what they would inevitably have to encounter; but that was not what he most deprecated. It was the 'neighborhood civil war,' as he termed it, which they would have to carry on with the fifty thousand Unionists of Virginia that he deplored. That it was which gave him pain to contemplate. To meet the exigency of this double warfare, to provide an adequate force against their external and internal foes, he said 'they would arm their slaves.' [I think gentlemen will remember that a certain individual was worthy of death who attempted to arm slaves.] [Laughter.] Another of their leaders, Senator Clingman, in a published letter, said they meant "to put down the opposition of 'Union men in North Carolina by the swift 'attention of vigilance committees"—that is, by organized assassination. \* \* \* Consider these appliances—a neighborhood civil war to be carried on with the aid of armed slaves! The large slaveholders of Virginia to arm their negroes against their poorer fellow citizens! To arm negro slaves, and incite them to a taste of white men and women's blood! Once tasted, when would their thirst have been slaked? What would have been the result of such a neighborhood civil war? Virginia would have been visited by general massacre and desolation. Or take the North Carolinian's plan for putting down opposition. The murder of thousands of their fellow citizens by organized bands of assassins, because they would not aid in treason against their country. What can be more atrocious? The very magnitude of their atrocity seems to have saved it from proper opprobrium. Like the big wars that make ambition virtue, it sublimates itself into satanic grandeur. The mind shrinks from the realization of such atrocity. I will not believe such wickedness of rational, accountable men, even though they themselves vauntingly avowed the fact." The paper, after arguing with eloquence what it "denounces" as the treason of this conspiracy, and showing the attitude of parties, proclaims that "the Republican party is not even suspected of any tendency to disunion"—[applause]—and there is not a single disunionist in the ranks of the "Opposition party;" and it then recommends common action among all those opposed to the abuses of the Administration and the conspiracy against the Union.

Since this document was published to the world, in the early part of last summer, the evidence of the existence of the conspiracy has multiplied on every hand. It has been openly avowed by the leading Democrats of the South in both houses of Congress, and the avowal followed by the loudest applause from the members of that party, and no single Democrat from the North or South has risen to rebuke the sentiment. It is not even rebuked by the

Union-saving papers and orators through the North. And yet this is the party which calls itself the "National Democracy." [Laughter.] National, because, if the will of the nation is pronounced against it, it will destroy the nation. And the Republican party, which "is not even suspected of any tendency to disunion," is upon the same authority pronounced a "sectional party," because its leading men in both houses of Congress have proclaimed their devotion to the Union, and their determination to maintain it, amidst the applause of every Republican member upon the floor. [Loud cheers.] The truth is, that the Republican party is in its truest and noblest sense the party of the Union, [renewed applause,] because its principles are those which brought the Union into existence, and vivified that Constitution which is the bond of Union. [Loud cheering.] This so-called National Democracy is an organized conspiracy against the Union. [Applause.] A party which threatens to bisect, to cut in two, the Government and country, unless a minority is allowed to control the majority, if the term has any meaning at all, is a "sectional party." [Laughter.] To put the Government into their hands again, in the hope to preserve it, is to put the wolf to guard the fold—[applause]—is to put the power of the Union into the hands of its enemies, to be used for its destruction. The Abolition party of the North is also an avowed disunion party, and one which, although feeble in number, has done incalculable injury by furnishing pretexts to their disunion collaborators in the South, with which to poison and inflame the public mind, and mislead the ignorant and thoughtless into the meshes of the designing conspirators. [Cheers.] Nor is the desire for disunion the only common ground of these two apparently hostile organizations, for it is plain that disunion is the nearest road to abolition—and every disunionist is an abolitionist in fact. [Applause.] The Opposition party of the South is a great and patriotic body of men, who have approved their loyalty and devotion to the Constitution and the Union under the most difficult and trying circumstances. The popular frenzy, and the power of successive Administrations, have borne them to the ground, but they have arisen and renewed the struggle, fighting, not for office, nor for place, but for the Constitution and the preservation of the Union. [Applause.] This is now the paramount issue, and the sentiment which animates the opposition of the South is the very soul of the Republican party. It will give the right hand of fellowship to every man of any party who, in view of such a contest, will accept it; and, in the face of the civilized world, in the spirit and in the very language of our fathers who have founded the Union, we will renew the pledge of "our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor," to the preservation of their noblest work, and our priceless inheritance.

The honorable gentleman concluded amidst enthusiastic cheering.